

Notes on the ancient topography of the Pīr Panṭṣāl Route.—By

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The following notes on an ancient mountain-route of Kaçmir have been collected by me while engaged in the preparation of an annotated translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* which is to follow my edition of the Sanskrit text of that Chronicle. Their publication in the present form may, perhaps, be acceptable as an illustration of the aid which a search for the surviving local traditions of Kaçmir and a study of its topography afford for the elucidation of Kalhaṇa's narrative.¹

The Pass of the *Pīr Panṭṣāl*,² 11,400 feet above the sea, forms the lowest point in the central part of the mountain-range which, reaching with its snowy peaks a height of more than 15,000 feet, encloses the Valley of Kaçmir on the south and south-west. The pass gives access to the valleys of the two *Tōhis* (Skr. *Tauṣi*) of *Rajauri* (*Rājapuri*) and *Prūntz* (*Parṇōtsa*) from which easy and direct routes of communication lead to the central and western Panjāb.

These natural advantages evidently influenced Akbar when he chose after the conquest of the Valley the route *viā* Blimbhar and Rajauri and over the *Pīr Panṭṣāl* for the construction of his 'Imperial Road' (*rāh-i shāhī*) which was to connect Lahore with his summer residence Kaçmir. Along this road passed in the reigns of Akbar's

¹ An abbreviated translation of these notes, has been contributed to the 'Festgabe, offered to Professor Albrecht Weber on occasion of his Fifty Years' Doctor Jubilee (18th December, 1895).

² I write the name according to its usual Kaçmīrī pronunciation. The latter we find already, with the transcription required by the Sanskrit alphabet, attested in the form *Pāñcāla dēva* of Çrīvara's Chronicle, iii. 433. The Pahārī population of the valleys to the south calls the pass *Pīr Panṭṣāl*. This is also the form recorded by the accurate Moorcroft. *Anglo-Indic* the form *Pīr Panjāl* has been generally accepted. The name *Panṭṣāl* is used for the whole mountain range. The word *Pīr*, probably of Muhammadan origin, serves in Kaçmir as the designation of every pass; comp. Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, p. 157.

immediate successors the almost annual migrations of the Mughal Court to Kaçmir.

We owe to this circumstance the first European description of the pass, written by one of the best observers who ever travelled in India. Dr. Bernier, then in the service of Dānīshmand Khān, one of Aurangzāb's Omras, followed this route to Kaçmir in the spring of 1665, in the train of the Imperial Court. The account he has left us in the Ninth Letter to Monsieur de Merveilles of his observations and experiences, is as attractive as it is accurate.¹

The old Imperial Road, though reduced in the course of time to the condition of a mere bridle-path,—bad at that in many places—has remained a favorite route for trade and traffic until the recent construction of the Jhelam Valley Road. It has accordingly been often described in the works of modern travellers, such as Moorcroft, Von Hügel, Vigne, Drew and others²,—not to mention the various guide-books. Referring to these works for more detailed information, I may hope that the following brief indications regarding the topography of the route will be found sufficient for the comprehension of the historical notices to be discussed below from Kalhaṇa's Rājataraygiṇī and the later Sanskrit Chronicles of Kaçmir.

The ascent to the Pir Panjtāl Pass begins for the traveller from the south at the village of *Bahramgalla*, the *Bhairavagala* of Çrīvara's Chronicle, and follows in an easterly direction the bed of a mountain stream as far as the hamlet of *Puṣiāna*, which is inhabited only in the summer months and is mentioned under the name of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* in several passages of the Chronicles. From the latter place the road rises in steep zigzags to the pass which lies about 3,000 feet higher; it then descends on the Kaçmīr side in a gently sloping valley to the Mughal Sarāi of 'Aliābād which lies about 4½ miles further to the east. At this point steep transverse ridges, descending from the mountain ranges on the north and south, approach close to the bed of the stream which flows from the pass, and narrow the valley into a gorge. The 'Imperial Road,' cut into the precipitous cliffs of the left or northern side and carried in parts on a masonry foundation, leads down the valley, keeping high above the stream.

Opposite to the point where the Pir Panjtāl stream is joined by the *Rūpri* river from the south, the road passes the old watch-towers of *Inganāri*. A short distance further down it crosses to the right

¹ Compare *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, by François Bernier, pp. 406 sqq., in A. Constable's careful and well-got up translation, London, 1891.

² Perhaps best in *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*, etc., by G. T. Vigne, London, 1842, vol. ii., pp. 261 sqq.

bank of the united stream which from here bears the name of *Rembyāra* (Skr. *Ramaṅyātavi*). The valley which is clothed with luxuriant fir forest, gradually widens, and after a march of about 11 miles from 'Aliābād Sarāi we reach *Hōr-pōr*, the *Çurapwa* of the Chronicles, which is the first permanently inhabited place in the valley and the end station of the route through the mountains. Some four miles below *Hōr-pōr* the *Rembyāra* enters the open valley of *Kaçmir*.

Kalhaṇa's first reference to this mountain-route is connected with a local legend which he relates to us in the account of King *Mihirakula's* reign. Notwithstanding the wholly erroneous date which the artificial chronology adopted in the first three cantos of the *Rājataranṅiṇi* assigns to this prince, modern research could not fail to recognize in the latter the White Hun ruler of that name whose reign, according to the epigraphical evidence first collected by Mr. Fleet,¹ must be placed at about 515-550 A.D., and of whom we know from Hsien Tsiang's account that his rule extended also over *Kaçmir*.

In full agreement with the accounts given of *Mihirakula's* character by the Chinese pilgrim *Sung-yun* who personally met the king in *Gandhāra*, and a century later by Hsien Tsiang, the *Kaçmirian* Chronicle represents him as a ruler of extreme cruelty. Among other legendary anecdotes which are intended to illustrate this feature in *Mihirakula's* character, it is related of him (*Rājataranṅiṇi*, i. 302-303) that, when he reached on his return from a tour of conquest through the whole of India the 'Gate of *Kaçmir*' (*Kaçmiram dvāram*) and heard there the death cry of an elephant which had fallen down a precipice, he was so delighted by these gruesome sounds that he had a hundred other elephants forcibly rolled down at the same spot.

The locality here meant is in the text only generally indicated by the term *dvāra*, which is uniformly applied in the Chronicle to all mountain-passes leading into *Kaçmir*. In order to identify it, we have to turn to the notice of the old glossator *A₂* in *Rājānaka Ratnakaṅṭha's* Codex (see note on i. 302 in my Edition) which says: 'From that time onwards the route by which *Mihirakula* returned, bears the name of *Hastivañja*.'

That this notice is old appears from *Abū-l-faẓl's* *Rājataranṅiṇi* excerpts in the *Āin-i Akbari* (transl. by Col. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind., ii., p. 383), in which the place of the event related by *Kalhaṇa* is referred to under the name of '*Hastivatar*'. That the latter form is only a clerical error for *Hastivañj*, easily explained in Persian writing, can clearly be seen from a comparison of the Persian Chronicles of *Nārāyan Kōl* and *Bir-bal Kāẓer*^a

¹ Compare his paper 'On the history and date of *Mihirakula*,' *Indian Antiquary* xv., pp. 245 sqq.

(MSS. in my possession). These two compilers who, though of a far more modern date, can be shown to have derived their information from the same sources, reproduce Kalhana's anecdote with a remark to the effect that the locality was in their days still known by the name of *Hastivanj* and was situated on the Pir Panṭṡāl route.

The repeated enquiries which I made with reference to these notices among my Paṇḍit friends at Çrīnagar, did not yield any result; neither they themselves or any of their acquaintances had ever heard the name 'Hastivanj.' I accordingly resolved in October 1891 to visit the Pass myself. Already at Hōr-pōr I found that the name was known to the Kaçmiri cultivators settled there. When subsequently I reached 'Alī-ābād Sarāi' I had no difficulty in ascertaining, by a successive cross-examination of such travellers as hailed from the valleys on both sides of the Pass, that the high mountain-ridge which stretches from the south towards the valley of Pir Panṭṡāl stream and ends just opposite to the Sarāi in a precipitous wall of rocks rising about 2,000 feet above the river bed, bears to this day the name of *Hastivañj*.

All the hillmen who passed by, had heard the story that once upon a time the elephants of some king had fallen over this precipice down into the gorge of the Pir Panṭṡāl stream. Whether this had happened by accident or otherwise, they could not tell me; nor could they name the king: 'it was so long ago since it had happened.'

But when I asked the older men, and among them my own guide, Pir Bakhsh from Bahramgalla, what reason there could have been for bringing elephants to that height, they did not hesitate with their answer: it was the old route, they said, which passed over the ridge of *Hastivañj* and along the south side of the valley, before the Emperor Akbar had made his road.

That this tradition is old, can be shown by reference to another passage of Abū-l-faẓl (*l.c.*, Vol. ii. p. 347) which specifies in the direction from Bhimbhar to Kaçmir, besides the route of the Pir Panṭṡāl, two other 'good routes'. Of these he names in the first place that of *Hastivatur* (read *Hastivanj*), 'which was the former route for the march of troops'.¹

A glance at the configuration of the mountains or at the maps published by the Survey of India,² is sufficient to explain fully the

¹ By Abū-l-faẓl's third route, *Tangtalah*, is meant a mountain track of that name which crosses the range about 5 miles to the north of the Pir Panṭṡāl Pass and is to this day often resorted to by smugglers.—The explanations of a Kaçmirian informant which are quoted in the translator's note on this passage, are based on insufficient local knowledge and hence misleading.

² Comp. 'Map of Jammoo, Kashmir and Adjacent Districts,' 1861, 4 miles to 1 inch; *Map of Kashmir* (surveyed 1855-57), 1877, 2 miles to 1 inch; also Sheets 28, 29 of the 'Atlas of India.'

direction followed by this earlier route. Opposite to 'Aliābād Sarāi there opens towards the south-west a high alpine valley through which a path, perfectly practicable for loaded animals, leads to the mountain lake of *Nandan Sar* and thence over the *Durhāl Pass* to the sources of the Tōhi of Rajaurī. This route which was used with advantage in the years 1814 and 1819 by strong columns of the Sikh army, when advancing on Hör^apōr, finds its natural continuation on the south or right side of the Pir Panṭṡāl valley, *i.e.*, *viā Hast'vañj*. Only by keeping to this side is it possible to avoid wholly the crossing of the Pir Panṭṡāl stream. The latter, as personal experience showed me in the further course of my tour, is not easy to ford even late in the year and would undoubtedly in the time of the melting snows form a still more serious obstacle.

The mountain-ridge of *Hast'vañj* which in the north, where it falls off towards the stream, forms a precipitous wall of rock, descends to the west and east with grassy slopes of a comparatively easy gradient. I could not retain any doubt as to the practicability of this route when honest Pir Bakhsh confessed to me that he, in company with friends from Bahramgalla, had often taken over *Hast'vañj* ponies heavily laden with rice. On all these occasions he had successfully evaded the police post of 'Aliābād Sarāi and—the Kaçmīr export-prohibition. Additional evidence for the old route here indicated is furnished by the position of the ancient frontier fort of *Kramavarta* which will be discussed below.

The name *Hast'vañj* contains in its first part undoubtedly the Kaçmīrī stem *hast'* 'elephant,' derived from Skr. *hastin*; for the second part *-vañj* I am unable at present to find any clear etymology.¹ In the absence of all indications as to the earlier history or original meaning of the

¹ Abū-l-faẓl explains according to Col. Jarrett's translation *vatar* (recte *vanj*) by 'injury;' but the word is not found with this meaning in modern Kaçmīrī. The above quoted Persian compilers render *vañj* by *raftan*. The inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys know themselves, as far as I could ascertain, of no explanation of the name. The derivation from Skr. *bhagga*, suggested in the note of the translation, is based on an erroneously supposed form of the name (*hastibhañj*) and is untenable.

[While these pages were passing through the press, the learned Editor of this Journal has favored me with an interesting note pointing out that a root $\sqrt{vañj}$ meaning 'to go' occurs in Western Panjābi. As Kaçmīrī, Western Panjābi and Sindhī belong to one group of Indo-Aryan-Vernaculars, the North-Western, this root might have been used in Kaçmīrī too at an earlier stage of the language. The $\sqrt{vañj}$ is not found in modern Kaçmīrī, and if the information given to me by my friends from Bahramgalla is correct, it is unknown also to the Pahārī dialects spoken in the valleys immediately to the south of the Pir Panṭṡāl.—For Western Panjābi forms of this root see Bhai Maya Singh's *Panjābi Dictionary*, Lahore 1895, p. 1194, and O'Brien's *Glossary of the Multāni Language*, Lahore, 1881, p. 276.]

name, we cannot speak with any certainty of the relation it bears to the legend above recorded. Still, it will be well to remember the numerous legends of the West which modern research has traced back in their origin to 'popular etymologies' of old local names, and accordingly to keep in view the possibility that in the case of *Hastivāñj*, too, the name may have given rise to the story or at least to its localization at that particular spot. Whatever our views on this point may be, it will be clear from the evidence collected above that Kalhaṇa has preserved for us here, as in many other instances, an old local tradition.¹

The other references of the Chronicle to this route through the mountains may be discussed conveniently in connection with the passages iii. 227 and v. 39. In the first named passage Kalhaṇa relates to us how the poet *Mātṛgupta*, whom the great *Vikramāditya-Harṣa* of Ujjayini had nominated regent of Kaçmir, found, after crossing the mountains, the Kaçmirian ministers waiting for him on the border of the Kingdom. As the place of meeting Kalhaṇa indicates the 'dhakka' called *Kāmbuva*, 'which was then situated in the locality called *Kramavarta*, but is now (*i.e.*, in Kalhaṇa's own time) at *Çurapura*.'

From the second passage we learn that it was *Çūra*, the powerful minister of king *Avantivarman* (*circa* 855-883 A. D.), who transferred the 'dhakka' from *Kramavarta* to the town of *Çurapura* which he had founded himself.

The general direction in which we have to look for the localities here referred to, is sufficiently indicated by the mention of *Çurapura*, which is undoubtedly identical with the present *Hör pör*, the end station of the Pir Panṭṣāl route, as shown above. This is proved, apart from the identity of the names (which is clearly established by the phonetic laws of Kaçmiri),² by the numerous passages of the *Rājataranṅiṇi* and the later Chronicles which mention *Çurapura* either as

¹ Bernier witnessed on the Pir Panṭṣāl an accident which forms a curious counterpart to the legend above discussed. It occurred on the ascent from *Puṣiāna* and must, therefore, be located on the *opposite* (Panjāb) side of the Pass. The long line of elephants which carried the ladies of *Aurangzēb's* seraglio, got into confusion on the steep road, with the result that fifteen elephants fell down the precipice and were lost. The curious map of Kaçmir which is reproduced in *Constable's* translation, p. 408, from the Amsterdam Edition of 1672, shows graphically the 'Fire Penjole' mountain with the troop of elephants rolling down its slopes.

² In *Çurapura* > *Hörapör* we have the regular phonetic change of Skr. ç > Kaçm. h, as illustrated, *e.g.*, by Skr. *çata*, Kaçm. *hath* 'hundred'; *Çamālā*, *Hamal* (name of *Pargaṇa*); *çarad*, *harud* 'autumn'. For the shortening of the *u* of the first syllable compare Skr. *tūla*, Kaçm. *tūl* 'mulberry'; *siṇḍūra*, *siṇḍōr* 'red lead'; *sūcī*, *sūts[an]* 'needle'. -*pura* at the end of local names appears in Kaçmiri always as -*pör*; compare *Kalyāṇapura*, *Kalampör*; *Suyyapura*, *Söpör*; *Parihāspura*, *Paraspör*, etc.

the entrance station for those arriving in Kaçmir from *Rājapurī* (Rajauri); *Bhairavagala* (Bahramgalla), *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* (Puṣiāna), or *vice versa* as the starting place for travellers leaving Kaçmir in that direction.¹

For the identification of *Kramavarta*, however, and for the elucidation of the otherwise unknown term '*dhakka*' we have to turn again to the glossator A₂ who in his note on v. 39 has explained *Kramavarta* by *Kāmelanakūṭṭa* and *dhakka* by *drayga*.

The word *drayga* (or *draygā*) is used everywhere by Kalhaṇa and the later Chroniclers (as I hope to prove fully in the second volume of my *Rājataranṅinī* Edition) for the designation of those frontier forts or watch-stations which closed in old times all passes leading into the Valley. Serving at once the purposes of defence, customs and police administration, these fortified posts have survived on most of the routes until quite recent days.²

¹ Compare *Rājat.* vii. 1348. 1352; viii. 1051. 1266. 1577 sqq.; *Çrīvara*, i. 109 iii. 433; iv. 531. 589. 611, etc.

² Apart from the frontier watch-station discussed above we find mention in *Rājat.* vii. 1596. 1997. 2010 of another *drayga*, bearing the name of *Kārkōṭa*, which closed the *Tūḥamaidān* route leading to *Lōhara*, the modern *Loharin*. On a tour undertaken in the autumn of 1892, which led me to the identification of *Lōhara*, I was able to trace also the position of this watch-station, as indicated by the old towers still found above the village of *Drang* (circiter 74° 36' E. Long., 33° 57' N. Lat.).

Another frontier-post which is mentioned under the designation of *draygā* in *Rājat.* viii. 2507. 2702, has left its name to a high valley of the *Lōlāb Pargana* still known as *Drang*, through which a difficult mountain-path leads to the ancient shrine of the goddess *Çāradā* in the *Kiṣungaygū* Valley. See the abstract of my paper '*Tours archaeological and topographical in and about Kaçmir*,' *ACADEMY*, November 25, 1893.

The famous gate in the gorge of the *Vitastā* below *Varāhamūla* (*Bārāmūla*) which already *Hüen Tsiang* knew as the western entrance of the kingdom (see *Life of Hüen Tsiang*, transl. Beal, p. 63), must also have once borne the name of *drayga*. though *Kalhaṇa*, viii. 413. 451,—as already *Albērūnī* before him (see Professor *Sachau's* translation, I., p. 207)—mentions it only under the general designation of *dvāra* 'gate.' This is proved by the fact that the ruined old gateway, situated on the right river bank just below the town, is known by the people to the present day under the name of *Drang*. *Moorcroft* does not mention this name which I myself have heard used on repeated visits; but he describes the place with his usual accuracy: 'Below the town the whole space between the river and the mountain is closed by a wooden rampart and folding gates. In the time of the Afghans a strong guard was posted at this place, and the gateway was kept in good repair' (*Travels*, II., p. 280).

'Roads and *draygās*' in general are referred to in the passage *Rājat.* viii. 1991 and custom revenue from *draygās* in verse 258 of the Fourth Chronicle.

The terms *draygika*, *draygin*, *draygika* which frequently recur as technical designations of certain officials in the copper-plate grants of the *Valabhī* dynasty (comp. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III., p. 169), are in all probability to be

We are all the more justified in accepting the glossator's statement as to the identical meaning of the term *ḍhakka*, as the same frontier-post after its transfer to Çürapura is directly mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the name of *Çürapuradrayga*. We find this designation in vii. 1352 and in the interesting passage viii. 1577-1580, which relates, how the commander of this frontier-station (*draggādhipa*, *draggēça*) caught and executed in July-August 1128 A.D., the rebel Utpala, King Sussala's murderer, who was passing through the mountains on a roving expedition from *Puṣyānanāḍu* (Puṣiāna).¹

Even later yet, about the end of the fifteenth century, Çrīvara knows the *drayga* of *Çürapura*, iv. 582, and refers evidently to the same place when relating, i. 408, of Sultan Zainu-l-'ābidīn that the latter established on the route of Çürapura a hospice for travellers and settled at the customs station (*çulkasthāna*) of the same route load-carriers from *Abhisāra* (i.e., the country about Bhimbhar).

explained according to the above interpretation of *drayga*. The form *drayga* is found in my MS. of the Kaçmirian commentary on Maṅkha's Kōça as the equivalent of *raḥāsthāna* 'watch-station,' s. v. *gulma*.

[Since this paper was sent to the press, Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes' important publication, *L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong* (Journal Asiatique, Septembre-Octobre 1895) has reached me. The Chinese traveller, whose life and wanderings it records, passed four years (759-763 A.D.) in Kaçmir in study and pilgrimages. We owe to him besides interesting notices of the sacred buildings he visited there, the following curious account of the "Gates" of the Valley (*l.c.*, p. 356).

'Le royaume (de Cachemire) est entouré des quatre côtés par des montagnes qui lui font un rempart extérieur; on y a ouvert en tout trois chemins sur lesquels on a établi des fermetures.' In the routes which lead in the east towards *T'ou-fan* (Tibet) and in the north towards *Po-liu* (Baltistān), we can easily recognize the passes of the *Zōji-lā* and the *Trīgabal* (of Gilgit Transport notoriety), respectively. The third route, 'le chemin qui part de la porte de l'ouest,' leading towards *Gandhāra*, can be no other but the road which passes through the *Varīhamūla* gorge. The Pir Panjal route may possibly be intended in the following description of a fourth route closed in *Ou-K'ong's* days: 'Il y a encore un autre chemin; mais il est toujours fermé et ne s'ouvre pas pour un instant que lorsque une armée impériale fait l'honneur de venir.]

¹ The commanders of these frontier-posts play under the title of *mārgēça*, *mārgapati*, a great part in the narratives of the later chroniclers. Their duties were entrusted in Mughal times to hereditary '*Maliks*,' true "Lords of the Marches" who retained considerable power and revenues until the time of the Sikh conquest. Their descendants, though deprived long ago of their privileges and most of their *Jāgirs*, are found residing to this day at the entrance of the valleys leading to the more important passes, e. g., at *Çupiyon* on the way to *Hörāpōr*. For interesting information regarding the *Maliks* and the routes in their charge, see the detailed account given by Baron Von Hügel, *Kaschmir und das Reich der Stek*, Stuttgart, 1840 ii., pp. 167 sqq.; i., p. 347.

The above mentioned tour enabled me to identify the position of *Kramavarta* as well as the later site of the guard-station after its transfer to Çürapura. The name *Kāmēlanakōṭṭa* by which the gloss of A_2 renders *Kramavarta*, has survived to the present day in the form of *Kāmēlankōṭ*, as the designation of a rocky hillock which occupies, on the right side of the valley and just opposite to the towers of Inganārī, the angle formed by the uniting streams from the Pir Panjtāl and Rūprī Passes. This hillock which rises with steep and in parts precipitous slopes to a height of about 200 feet above the bottom of the valley, is the last isolated off-shoot of a high mountain-range descending from the south-west. Another branch of the same range, running in a more northerly direction, we have met with already in the ridge of *Hasṭivañj*.

The top of the hillock forms a small plateau about 200 feet long and 50 feet broad. At its ends stand two octagonal watch-towers, built of massive though coarse masonry and connected by a double stone parapet. This little fort, along with other towers of a similar construction found along the route, does not probably, in its present form, date back beyond the years immediately preceding the Sikh conquest of Kaçmīr, when the Paṭhāns endeavoured on successive occasions to hold the pass against the troops of Fatteh Khān and Ranjit Singh advancing from Rajaurī¹. Still it is evident that the military importance of the position must have been recognized at a far earlier period.

Kāmēlankōṭ commands completely the paths which lead between its foot and the near river beds toward *Hasṭivañj-Pir Panjtāl* to the west and the *Rūprī* Pass to the south. The existence of an earlier fortification in this locality is attested by the fact that we find the name already in the gloss of A_2 with the appended designation *kōṭṭa* 'fort,' Kaçmīrī *kōṭ*. The form *Kāmēlan* shows the stem *Kāmēl* with the addition of the Kaçmīrī suffix of the plural genitive (objective), - *an* < skr. - *ānām*.

As *Kāmēl* itself may be traced back on the evidence of cases of

¹ Baron Von Hügel who passed the little fort in the autumn 1835, describes correctly its shape and situation (*l. c.*, i., p. 198), but calls it 'the castle of *Inganalī Kīllah*,' evidently confusing its name with that of the towers opposite on the northern bank of the Pir Panjtāl stream. Moorcroft who followed this route in 1823, mentions in the same locality two towers named *Kamil Koth* and states that they were erected with other defences by 'Ata Muḥammad Khān, Afghān governor of Kaçmīr, against the invading force of the Afghān Wazīr Fatteh Khān (*Travels*, ii, p. 295). The encounter in which 'Ata Muḥammad Khān was defeated, was fought close to Kāmēlankōṭ. As this event took place only 11 years before Moorcroft's visit, the information given to the latter as regards the towers, may be assumed to have been correct.

analogous phonetic change to Skr. *Kramavarta*, *Kāmelankōṭ* corresponds to a Skr. * *Kramavartānām kōṭṭa*.¹

The evidence here indicated enables us to recognize with certainty in *Kāmelankōṭ* the *Kramavarta* of *Kalhaṇa* and thus the earlier position of the frontier-station guarding the *Pir Panṭsāl* route. As regards the name *Kāmbuva* which this station bore according to iii. 227, I am unable to give any information. As the name is not found again in the *Rājataranṅinī* or the later *Chronicles* the assumption seems justified that it was forgotten at an early period on account of the transfer of the watch-station to *Çūrapura* and the consequent employment of the new designation *Çūrapurudrangga*.

The later position of the frontier-post is indicated by a local tradition still surviving at *Hör^apōr*, which relates that at a spot situated about 1¼ miles above the village, where rocky spurs projecting from the hill sides reduce the level ground of the valley to a narrow defile, there stood once an ancient gate. This place which is covered by dense fir-forest, bears now the name of *Ilāhī Darwāza*, 'the Gate of God'; but the father of the present *Muqaddam* (or *Lambardār*), a *safēdrēsh* of very advanced age, remembered to have heard in his youth the name *Drang* also.

Old coins are often found at this spot, and in the under-growth the remains of ruined walls can still be traced. A monument of ancient art is seen about 330 yards higher up the valley, where a large rock, lying close to the river bank, shows in three richly decorated niches, over 4 feet high, well-carved relievō representations of temples of the *Kaçmīrian* style.

Hör^apōr which until the recent construction of the *Jhelam Valley Road* saw a considerable amount of trade and is still the seat of a customs-station, is traditionally believed to have once extended for nearly three miles along the banks of the *Rembyāra*. Until some 15 years ago all subjects of the *Mahārāja* who wished to leave *Kaçmīr* by this route, had to show permits and to pay a small poll-tax at the police posts which were stationed at *Hör^apōr*, *Inganāri* and 'Aliābād Sarāi.

These posts were known in the official Persian by the name of

¹ For the phonetic change of Skr. *Krama*-> *Kaçm*. *Kām*- we have the evidence of an exact parallel in the well-known name for the western portion of the *Kaçmīr Valley*, *Kamrūz* < Skr. *Kramurājya* (*Rūjat*). The length of the vowel in *Kām*[el is easily accounted for by the assimilation of *v* to the preceding *m* (in the intermediate form * *Kramvart* reduced from * *Kramavart* under the action of the stress-accent which falls on the first syllable) and by subsequent 'supplementary lengthening'; for the latter comp. *Kaçm*. *Dānōtar* < Skr. *Dhanvantari*. Examples for *Kaçm*. *l* being the phonetic derivative of Skr. *r*+*dental* are *Kaçm*. *āval*[ur: Skr. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' *mul*[mut: Skr. *mardita* 'rubbed.'

rāhdārī and have been frequently noticed in the accounts of European travellers since the early part of the present century. An interesting passage of Albērūnī (transl. by Sachau, I., 206) shows that in old times strict control was also exercised at such places over those who wished to enter the country.

The historical *data* which we have endeavoured to elucidate in connection with this ancient mountain-route, can claim, perhaps, only a locally limited interest. Yet their detailed discussion here may have been of some use as showing that we can expect *mutatis mutandis* in the mountains of Kaçmīr that tenacity in clinging to local traditions and local names which characterizes the population of so many parts of Alpine Europe.

